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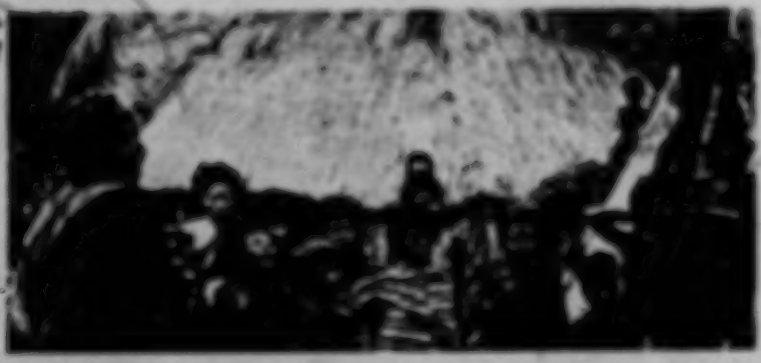
342 for food cooking. Alongside, but still under the overhanging eaves, is
[341] the pigpen. From the verandah a ladder leads up through a hatchway
into a corridor, and from the corridor a doorway with a high threshold
opens into the main living room under the eaves. The right half of the
room, as one enters, is called the woman's half and the left, the men's.
The latter is on slightly longer posts, so that there is an imperceptible
slant to the floor, but there is no functional difference in the use of the
two halves of the house.

Above the living room are two lofts in which rice baskets and corn
bundles, as well as more valuables, are stored. Paralleling the entrance
corridor, on the opposite side of the living room and above the pigpen,
is another corridor, which is used as a privy. The flooring throughout
is made of slabs of split bamboo laid across widely spaced rafters, so
that it squeaks and sags as one moves.

354 The living room itself is divided down the center by a long, rec-
352 tangular hearth of earth enclosed in a wooden frame. Along the two
sides of the room where there are no doors, shelves are built under the
eaves. These are used for storage and sometimes as sleeping balconies.
[353] Usually, however, the sleeping as well as the cooking is done in the
main room. At night pandanus sleeping mats are spread on the floor
with one end free to be pulled over the sleeper. Additional warmth is
secured by having a sleeping partner and by keeping the fire going.
342 The bamboo rafters and walls of the room are blackened with soot
349 from the fire that smolders day and night. The air is close with smoke and
the odor of human beings. In addition, the interior is so dark that it
usually takes a few seconds to adjust one's eyes to the gloom when one
comes in from the sunlight.

372 In each house there generally lives a kinship family supplemented
401 from time to time by other kin, bilaterally reckoned. In direct address
the tendency is to equate all kin of the same generation, however re-
mote, with siblings, all kin of the ascending generation with parents,
and all the descending generation with children. The kinship system is
of the simple Hawaiian type. There are three major kin groups whose
615 existence is not reflected in the nomenclature. First, there is the patri-
lineal lineage called kiwa plus a personal name prefix—Lashiwa or
Maughiwa for instance. There are about fifteen of these in the Atim-
[622] beng district. No major village, excluding dependent hamlets, has less
than three or more than seven. Descendants of the eldest brother in a
lineage are grouped together under the term Elder House (*dang fala*);
descendants of the youngest brother are called the Youngest House

On the verandah of the gang house old men wait for advance tidbits of a pig that is being butchered for the afternoon's feast. Between them a boy who danced all night searches a rag.



A crowd listens to an argument over a dowry payment. Tilapalo, whose autobiography is given in this volume, is the first woman at left center. Her head is thrown back as she makes a telling point. Back of her stand her oldest daughter and at her left her youngest daughter. The various people are partners to the gift. The ones who are laughing are not involved in the exchange.

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not emphasized this particular source of physical satisfaction. Of sixteen women who were asked directly, fifteen did say that they preferred having children to intercourse, but almost invariably they added, "Because my children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said they did not want any more children, because feeding them meant so much work. Economic habits, therefore, react directly upon behavior and attitudes of mothers.

519 At night the child shares a mat with its mother. It sleeps alone with
539 her until the father resumes intercourse with his wife. This is supposedly when the child is old enough to sit up alone or even to crawl about. It may be significant that no effort is made to hasten the child's development in these respects. It should be noted that the baby is not necessarily displaced when its parents resume intercourse. It may still
539 be kept on the same mat. In fact, rather scandalized gossip had it that the death of one child was due to its being crushed accidentally by its parents during sex relations. In addition, if the father has more than one wife he may spend at least half his nights in another household, and then the child sleeps undisturbed with its mother. If the parents do not permit the child to share the sleeping mat with them, the infant is placed with some other adult or an older sibling on a sleeping mat in the common living room.

539 The time at which a man resumes intercourse with his wife after childbirth varies greatly. So far only the time recognized in formal statements has been mentioned. In sex histories given by women it became apparent that men might resume relationships with their wives much sooner and much later, depending on other sex adjustments open to the man. It is true that women, particularly when burdened with large families, sometimes reproach their husbands for undue haste in this respect. Again we have a reflection of economic pressure upon sex attitudes. Since there is a very clear idea of the connection between the
539 sexual act and childbearing, and since each additional child places extra subsistence burdens on the woman, there is ample reason for her to develop reluctance after a time toward both intercourse and childbearing. This attitude of reluctance, although far from consistent, is evident in ways that will be referred to later, when sex practices are discussed in more detail.

INFANT'S EARLY TRAINING

514 So far in discussing the infancy period, we have been concerned with
519 the role of the mother and father, the feeding of the infant, and its experiences in bodily contacts and support. The early sex experiences

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of about eighteen months, who had been watching the whole proceeding, was picked up by the mother and nursed. Finally, when Fulani had quieted down somewhat, her mother tried gently to lead her home, but Fulani broke out again, struck at her mother, and called her an evil spirit. When the child's convulsive sobbing had again stopped, a little playmate of about eight began poking Fulani gently and playfully, but she did not respond and once more tears began to roll down her face.

Even where rivers do not make the bath painful, children who are still not very sure of their balance and who run over rough ground all day without clothes on, have a certain number of inevitable cuts and bruises, which smart when exposed to water. Another factor making for discomfort is that the women have exceedingly calloused hands and, by and large, impressed me as being singularly rough in rubbing down their children. This lack of gentleness in touch was also impressed on me when my native houseboys assisted me in dressing wounds. It was so marked that I could never entrust to them any very painful cases, for fear the patients would prefer their wounds to the treatment.

SEX

Sex experiences during this early period of childhood seem confined to masturbation, which goes on freely in public. Little boys are commonly seen standing on the fringe of an adult group manipulating their penes with complete self-engrossment. Sex knowledge, as contrasted with sex experience, at this time is completely accessible to children, since the common living room affords no privacy and there is no attempt to modify adult conversation when children are present. Although I have no direct evidence to this effect, it seems improbable that knowledge of intercourse and birth as well as the terminology is not the commonplace property of five-year-old children.

SLEEPING

Sleeping habits for early childhood continue the pattern of close physical contact that was present in infancy. If the child is the last born, it may go on sleeping with the mother up to the age of seven or eight. If it is displaced by the birth of another, it will sleep with an older sibling of either sex or with some adult. The lack of regular habits of sleep should be stressed, since this parallels a point to be made in connection with discipline. At night a household is roused at least once and frequently oftener by some member who has dreamed and gets up

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[155] to replenish the fire and tell his dream to the household. Often a pot is
● [519] placed on the fire for a midnight snack at this time.

There is also a good deal of movement in the village at night. Men have been out discussing finance; boys have been out courting, and when they return there is inevitably a certain amount of disturbance.

[538] There are also the night dances, which average one every eight days throughout the year, and during the dry season from June through October may average as many as one every five or six nights. Many
[157] children even of five years or less are taken to these dances and they snatch what sleep they can.

Those who can be left at home in someone's care must sleep less soundly because of the coming and going and the sound of singing all night. It is a common sight to see children taking cat naps at all times. Sometimes they lean back between the legs or against the side of a seated parent who is chatting with guests. Often they crawl off under the eaves with small companions and doze for a time, only to wake up and rejoin the adults. Toddlers learn to sleep anytime and anywhere except on the ground, which they already know is taboo. Children barely two or three years old are often seen sleeping quite alone on a verandah during the day. Their rest even more than their food is a matter of small concern and casual attention from adults.

TALKING

[158] Satisfactory information on talking is scant. When crying for attention most children of one or two years will interpose their cries with rhythmic wails that sound as though they were trying to say,
[196] "Mother, mother, alack, alas (*nise, nise, adiye, adiye*)," which is the formalized type of wailing used by adults, especially women, in connection with deaths and catastrophes. These words are used also as general expressions of consternation. In terms of adult psychology, it is interesting that the cry of distress should, by formalization, be directed to the mother.

Another word that is learned very early is the imperative for *give* (*me*). Children who are just beginning to walk can be seen holding out their hands, usually in the direction of food, and saying "Mo!" over and over again. There is little doubt that children from two to four years are in command of sufficient vocabulary to make their wishes
195 known. Under the stimulus of rage even five-year-olds are quite fluent
868 in their use of imprecations. One little boy whose aunt was trying to
615 make him carry a basket to his mother when he was more interested in playing, turned on her and said, "Evil spirit, evil spirit! May you have

This was the time that Kapitan Jacob bought two wives in one day. One night he was sleeping between his two wives, and I was sleeping on the other side of one of them. In the middle of the night I woke up and sat on the corn mailer to urinate. I was small and didn't know better. Kapitan Jacob woke up and spoke, saying, "Look, he has urinated on the mailer." He took hold of me and said he would cut off my ear. He got a knife. I was afraid and cried. Then he picked me up and fondled me and I was quiet.

My father bought one of Kapitan Jacob's two wives for him, the one who was called Fuimau. [Why?] Because my mother was Kapitan Jacob's full sister. At this time Kapitan Jacob came to stay with us. A little later he made two houses on the upper dance place of Dikimpe, one to store corn in and one just to sleep in. At this time we lived in Maiyameleng with my older sister, Maraima, who had married there. But when Kapitan Jacob made these two houses, we went to live with him.

Once when the corn was young, I roasted three ears for the kapitan. When they were cooked I handed them to him, but as he reached for them I drew them away. I handed them again and drew them away. Then the kapitan grabbed me and tied a rope around my neck as though he were going to hang me. He said he was going to cut off my ears. I cried and cried.

Kapitan Jacob bought a lot of bananas. He held three out to me. He stood close to his horse and held the bananas out to me. When I came near to get the bananas, he grabbed me and held me under the horse's head. I cried. Then he gave me the bananas. I ate them and was quiet. Then he grabbed me again and put me on the horse's back. The horse started going, and I screamed and cried until finally the former chief of Lakawati lifted me off.

Once Kapitan Jacob rode his horse to Lakawati and back. He held me on in front of him. When we got back he got off and left me on the horse. I cried, and the chief of Lakawati picked me off and set me on the ground, but I couldn't stand because my buttocks and legs were so sore.

I have already forgotten much. [Pause and interruption. I asked for his dreams on the preceding night.]

I dreamed I saw a large flat place like this one here, only it wasn't here in Atimelang; it was flatter. There was a mountain at its edge, the mountain on which Padalehi stands. A large, round stone like a ball dropped from the sky and struck the side of the mountain, but it

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had a pig, but I gave it yesterday to Foinum. I shall follow you in a 159[x]
couple of days." Then they left together. In Ruahnelang, Pedahoi said, "Let us divine." The divination set the feast day in seven days. Pedahoi and Likma came home carrying feast tallies [*djoli*]. I was in the field when they returned. Likma called me. I came and reckoned the people to whom he must give them—Foinum, Fulfani, and Mallemai. I said that in seven days we must take a pig. Then I awoke.

[*Meaning?*] This is a true dream. This will come true. [I suspected that she was telling daily events as dreams. A pig had really been given to Foinum and a feast was due in Ruahnelang. I said that I wanted only true dreams. She then told the following.]

Last night I dreamed that the people of Lawetika, carrying clubs, went to seize a pig from Atakalieta of Faranuang. He did not want them to have it. They exchanged blows. Then Atakalieta got a club and hit one of the Lawetika men over the back. I took a long bamboo pole and thrust it between the fighters. I said, "You can't fight with clubs." Atakalieta got a big wound on his forehead. My husband called and told me not to stay there, that there would be a litigation and I would have to be a witness. So I moved off to one side. There was a litigation, and the chief of Atimelang said the Lawetika people were in the wrong because they shot Atakalieta's pig and wounded his head. They had to pay a fine of ten cents for the wound, and Atakalieta got the pig. They went home. I woke up.

[Were you angry or *afraid*?] I was afraid and stood to one side. I was angry too and wanted to fight with the Lawetika people, but my husband would not let me. He said, "People have received wounds and you will be involved in a litigation."

Last night I dreamed again that I went to Old Atimelang, and there I saw a large ravine. I flew over it and landed in a nabu tree near Lakawui. Suddenly I was in Mauerui. There Malema said, "Let us go to Manek." I said that it was far and that I had to weed my gardens at home. I came back here. When I reached the big ravine, I could not walk any more. I went on all fours because the stones were so steep. A man there said I should stand up. I did, and suddenly I flew up and landed in a nabu tree in Atimelang. I thought, "How shall I get down?" This man said, "You can get down." Then I could and I went down to Felafang. I woke up.

[Flying?] When you sleep with your legs stretched out you can dream of flying and walking. But if you sleep with your legs bent it means you can only crawl.

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